Chinese Alchemy

An Annotated Bibliography of Works in Western Languages

Fabrizio Pregadio

Golden Elixir Press

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Introduction

This bibliography lists titles of books and articles in Western languages on different aspects of Chinese alchemy. I have mainly restricted myself to studies based on primary sources, while including a few important works based on secondary sources. The works covered here were published between the middle of the nineteenth century and 1995.

Chinese alchemy took the two forms conventionally designated as *waidan* ("external alchemy") and *neidan* ("inner alchemy"). *Waidan* relies on practices based on the manipulation of natural substances, and adopts a language that accords to those practices. *Neidan*, which developed later, uses a language to a certain extent similar to that of *waidan*, but its practices are focused on the human person, the ingredients of the elixir being the person's prime constituents. While some disciplines grouped under the rubric of *yangsheng* (Nourishment of Life) are related to alchemy—either because they are based on the same cosmogonic and cosmological principles, or because it may be assumed that the associated practices were performed in the same milieux where alchemy was practiced—their language and practices are different from those of both *waidan* and *neidan*. This bibliography does not include studies that concern them.

For Western-language studies on Taoism and the *yangsheng* disciplines the main bibliographic sources are the following:

(a) Michel Soymié and F. Litsch, "Bibliographie du Taoïsme: Études dans les langues occidentales," *Dōkyō Kenkyū / études taoïstes* 3 (1967): 247-313; 4 (1971): 225-87.

(b) Laurence G. Thompson, *Chinese Religion in Western Languages: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Publications in English, French, and German through 1980* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985. The Association for Asian Studies Monograph 41). Supplemented by:

(c) Laurence G. Thompson, ed. by Gary Seaman, *Chinese Religion. Publications in Western Languages 1981 through 1992* (The Association for Asian Studies Monograph 47). Also supplemented by:

(d) Alvin A. Cohen, "Western Language Publications on Chinese Religions, 1981-1987," in Julian F. Pas, ed., *The Turning of the Tide. Religion in China Today*, 313-45 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1989).

For similar reasons I have not listed general studies on the Shangqing and the Quanzhen traditions of Taoism, both of which availed themselves of alchemy—in the form of *waidan* in the first case, *neidan* in the second—as one of their disciplines. Some *waidan* texts are preserved in the Taoist

Canon thanks to their inclusion in the corpus of Shangqing revealed scriptures, and several *neidan* texts were written by Quanzhen masters. In both traditions alchemy played an important role. This bibliography, however, lists only studies which examine this role, and monographs on single relevant texts.

Studies of chemistry, metallurgy, mineralogy, medicine, and pharmacology are listed only when they include alchemical texts among their sources. With very few exceptions, moreover, this bibliography omits anthologies, encyclopedias, as well as general works on alchemy, on Taoism, or on Chinese religion, philosophy and science that contain chapters, sections, or entries on Chinese alchemy. In particular, the selection of studies on the history of alchemy that consider, with different levels of competence, the question of the origin and transmission of alchemical doctrines and practices is almost entirely restricted to works written by sinologists.

> The main studies on this subject are reviewed in *Needham et al. 1980*, section 33(*i*). For the views of an authoritative scholar writing before Needham see Sheppard 1970.

Finally, unpublished manuscripts are not listed, but theses, dissertations, and forthcoming works that I know of are included. I have also included essay-length reviews of books.

The starting point of this bibliography was the titles on Chinese alchemy listed in the volume on chemistry of *Science and Civilisation in China*, and in the bibliography compiled by A. Pritchard, which is the best collection of works on world alchemy published until about 1975.

> Needham, Joseph, et al. *Science and Civilisation in China*, vols. V:2-5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

> Alan Pritchard, *Alchemy. A Bibliography of Western-language Writings* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980).

I have tried to build on both bibliographies by updating references, providing data as complete and accurate as it was possible for me, arranging the titles by subject, and appending a short indication of the content of most of the studies listed. The extent of my debt to both Needham and Pritchard is evidenced in the simple fact that I would have never attempted to compile this bibliography if their works had not been available. Along with their works I have consulted the most important sinological bibliographies. I have done my best to examine each study listed here. Those that I could not consult are marked with an asterisk (*). In this case, I have cross-checked the references whenever it was possible to do so.

The format of the entries requires few explanations. Reprinted books or articles are entered under the original title and year of publication; details on the reprint are provided immediately after. New editions of books, or sensibly revised versions of previously printed articles, are listed instead under their most recent year of publication and title. References to translated books and articles are provided only for translations into Western languages, and not into Chinese or Japanese. Closely related studies by the same author and on the same subject are not listed as separate entries, but are mentioned in the note on the study published earlier. When applicable and relevant, I have provided references to abstracts of articles and books in the *Revue bibliographique de sinologie*.

The absence of any explanatory note after the publication data does not imply a negative judgment on my part, just as its presence does not imply a positive judgment. It should be emphasized that this is

not a critical bibliography of Chinese alchemy, as I found it impossible to make suitable remarks in an amount of space reasonable for a work of this nature. With regard to the quality of the single translations, the reader should be aware, however, that the level of translations of *waidan* sources has generally improved with the refinement of the scholarly understanding of alchemy. On the other hand, many translations of *neidan* texts, and especially some of the most recent ones, do not meet acceptable standards.

To prepare this bibliography I visited the libraries of the Needham Research Institute in Cambridge, the University of Leiden, the University of Kyoto, and the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Is.M.E.O.) in Rome. To the librarians of these institutions—in particular to John Moffett of the Needham Research Institute—goes my gratitude. I also wish to thank Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, Catherine Despeux, Christopher Glidewell, Ho Peng Yoke, Isabelle Robinet, and Nathan Sivin, who have kindly provided details of their publications. Daniel Boucher, Monica Esposito, Franco Gatti, Livia Kohn, and Lowell Skar have seen earlier drafts of my work, and have offered many valuable suggestions for improvement. I am also grateful to Alfredo Cadonna, who has arranged financial support from the Italian Ministry of the University and the Scientific Research for covering travel expenses in Europe.

Fabrizio Pregadio, 1995

* * *

This bibliography was first published as "Chinese Alchemy: An Annotated Bibliography of Works in Western Languages" in *Monumenta Serica* 44 (1996): 439-76. In addition to minor changes, the present version contains a final section listing books and articles published between 1995 and early 2009, as well as a few earlier works that had been omitted in the printed version. Unlike the original version, the additional section does not intend to be exhaustive.

Fabrizio Pregadio, 2009

* * *

The only addition to the 2014 edition of this bibliography consists of books published by Golden Elixir Press between 2009 and 2013.

Fabrizio Pregadio, 2014

Abbreviations

CT Kristofer Schipper, *Concordance du Tao-tsang. Titres des ouvrages* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1975). Followed by the number assigned to the *Daozang* (Taoist Canon) text in this catalogue.

RBS *Revue bibliographique de sinologie*. References are to volume year and entry number (e.g., 1961/755).

SCC Joseph Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation in China*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. General Studies

General Studies of Waidan Alchemy

See also no. 41 in the Addenda.

AKAHORI Akira. 1989. "Drug Taking and Immortality." In Livia Kohn, ed. in cooperation with Yoshinobu Sakade, *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, 73-98. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 61.)

> On the ingestion of mineral and herbal drugs in Chinese pharmacology and, to a lesser extent, alchemy.

BARNES, William Henry. 1935. "Possible References to Chinese Alchemy in the Fourth or Third Century B.C." *China Journal of Science and Arts* 23: 75-79.

> On one passage of *Zhuangzi* and two passages of *Liezi* that, according to author, might allude to alchemical practices.

(*) CHATLEY, Herbert. 1913. "Alchemy in China." *National Review* (Shanghai) 14: 456-57.

> An article with the same title by the same author is found in *Journal of the Alchemical Society* 2 (1913) 33-38.

CHIKASHIGE Masumi. 1936. *Alchemy and Other Chemical Achievements of the Ancient Orient: The Civilization of Japan and China in Early Times as Seen from the Chemical Point of View*. Tokyo: Rokakuho Uchida. Repr. New York: AMS Press, 1979. Repr. as *Oriental Alchemy*, New York: Samuel Weiser, 1974 (with author's last name misspelled as "Chkashige").

> The chapter entitled "Alchemy in the East" examines methods and ingredients mentioned in the *Baopu zi neipian*; the rest deals with Chinese bronzes and Japanese swords. The book is a translation by Sasaki Nobuji of *Tōyō renkinjutsu: Kagaku jō yori mitaru tōyō jōdai no bunka* [Oriental alchemy: The early Eastern civilization as seen from the chemical point of view] (Tokyo: Uchida Rokakuho, 1929; repr. 1936; also repr. as *Kagaku yori mitaru tōyō jōdai no bunka* [The early Eastern civilization as seen from the chemical point of view; Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, 1940].)

COLLIER, H. Bruce. 1952. "Alchemy in Ancient China." *Chemistry in Canada* 4: 101-3.

> Summarizes the information available at that time, mainly on the basis of studies by T.L. Davis and A. Waley.

(*) DAVIS, Tenney L. 1935. "Stories of Early Chinese Alchemists—First to Practice the Art." *Tech. Engng. News* 16 March 1935: 3-5, 18.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and Rokuro NAKASEKO. 1937. “The Tomb of Jofuku or Joshi, the Earliest Alchemist of Historical Record.” *Ambix* 1: 109-15.

On the traditions concerning the arrival of Xu Fu (also known as Xu Shi) to Japan in the third century BCE in search of the medicines of immortality, and on the shrine devoted to him at Shingu (Wakayama Prefecture). See also the shorter account in the authors’ “The Jofuku Shrine at Shingu, a Monument of Earliest Alchemy,” *The Nucleus* 15.3 (1937): 60-62, 67-68. The photograph of the shrine is also reproduced in their “The Tomb of Jofuku or Joshi,” *Journal of Chemical Education* 24 (1947): 415 (frontispiece).

DAVIS, Tenney L., and Lu-ch’iang WU. 1930. “Chinese Alchemy.” *Scientific Monthly* 31: 225-35.

Remarks on the notions of *yin-yang* and *wuxing*, followed by notes on some early alchemists, the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, and the *Baopu zi neipian*. This is the first publication on Chinese alchemy by T.L. Davis and his collaborators. For a complete bibliography of their works see Henry M. LEICESTER and Herbert S. KLICKSTEIN, “Tenney Lombard Davis and the History of Chemistry,” *Chymia* 3 (1950): 1-16.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and Lu-ch’iang WU. 1934. “Huang-ti, the Legendary Founder of Alchemy.” *Journal of Chemical Education* 11: 635 (frontispiece).

Reproduction of an illustration from the *Liexian quanzhuan*, and translation of selected passages.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and Lu-ch’iang WU. 1935. “Wei Po-yang, the Father of Alchemy.” *Journal of Chemical Education* 12: 51 (frontispiece).

Reproduction of an illustration from the *Liexian quanzhuan*, with short notes.

DUBS, Homer H. 1947. “The Beginnings of Alchemy.” *Isis* 38: 62-86.

Contains meticulously annotated quotations from early historical sources, but also erroneous interpretations of broader issues.

DUBS, Homer H. 1961. “The Origin of Alchemy.” *Ambix* 9: 23-36.

Reiterates the views expounded in the 1947 study, and accepts S. Mahdihassan’s theory of the origin of the word “alchemy” from *jinye*, “golden liquor” (see Mahdihassan, “The Chinese Origin of Three Cognate Words: Chemistry, Elixir, and Genii” [1951]). Abstract in *RBS* 1961/755.

EDKINS, Joseph. 1855. “Phases in the Development of Tauism” [*sic*]. *Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1st series, 5: 83-99.

This is the earliest study in a Western language to include an account of Chinese alchemy (pp. 84-91).

(*) EDKINS, Joseph. 1857 [?]. “On Early Tauist Alchemy.” *North China Herald*. Also published in *Miscellany or Companion to the Shanghai Almanak for 1857* (Shanghai: Herald Office).

ELIADE, Mircea. 1970-71. “Alchemy and Science in China.” *History of Religions* 10: 178-82.

Essay review of Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies* (1968).

ELIADE, Mircea. 1977. *Forgerons et alchimistes*. Second ed. Paris: Flammarion.

The chapter "L'alchimie chinoise" (pp. 92-106) is based on secondary sources (see the bibliographic notes on pp. 166-68 and 169-70), but is full of perceptive remarks on some of the basic features of both *waidan* and *neidan*. Translated into English by Stephen Corrin, *The Forge and the Crucible* (second ed.; Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1978). The English translation also includes (pp. 179-99) "The Forge and the Crucible: A Postscript," an article first published in *History of Religions* 8 (1968-69): 74-88, with updated bibliographic notes.

FURUKAWA Yasu. 1984. "Chinese Alchemy: Its Origins and Development." *Yokohama Shōdai ronshū* 18.1: 95-110.

A synthesis of research, based on secondary sources of uneven value.

HO Peng Yoke. 1971. "Alchemy in Ming China (A.D. 1368 - A.D. 1644)." In *XIIe Congrès International d'Histoire des Sciences. Actes*, 3A: 119-23. Paris: Albert Blanchard.

HO Peng Yoke. 1972. "The System of the *Book of Changes* and Chinese Science." *Japanese Studies in the History of Science* 11: 23-39.

Mainly concerned with the application of the hexagram system to alchemy and especially the *Zhouyi cantong qi*.

HO Peng Yoke. 1973. "The Search for Perpetual Youth, with Special Reference to Chinese Alchemy." *Papers on Far Eastern History* 7: 1-20.

Examines several topics (e.g., chemical processes, theories, elixir poisoning) more fully discussed in other works by the author.

HO Peng Yoke. 1974. "Chinese Alchemical and Medical Prescriptions: A Preliminary Study." In *XIVth International Congress of the History of Science: Proceedings*, 3: 295-98. Tokyo: Science Council of Japan.

Remarks on theoretical aspects and technical terms common to both alchemy and pharmacology.

HO Peng Yoke. 1985. *Li, Qi and Shu: An Introduction to Science and Civilization in China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

The chapter entitled "Chinese Alchemy" (pp. 171-217), consists of a summary of various sections of *SCC*, vols. V:3 and V:4, of which the author is one of the contributors.

HO Ping-Yü [= HO Peng Yoke], and Joseph NEEDHAM. 1959. "Elixir Poisoning in Mediaeval China." *Janus* 48: 221-51. Repr. in Joseph Needham, *Clerks and Craftsmen in China and the West*, 316-39 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Suggests that Chinese alchemists either ignored the danger of elixir poisoning, or tried to neutralize the toxicity of the ingredients. The first part deals with cases of poisoning mentioned in dynastic histories and other sources. Abstract in *RBS* 1959/857.

HO Ping-Yü, and Joseph NEEDHAM. 1959. "Theories of Categories in Early Mediaeval Chinese Alchemy." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22: 173-210.

On the theory that two *yin* and *yang* substances can be used together if they belong to the same "category" (*lei*). Corresponds to the final part of section 33(*h*) "The theoretical background of elixir alchemy" of *SCC*, vol. V:4, but also includes an annotated translation of the *Cantong qi wuxiang lei biyao* (CT 905). Abstract in *RBS* 1959/822. A virtually identical version of this study, without the translation of the text, has appeared in Joseph NEEDHAM, "Category Theories in Chinese and Western Alchemy: A Contribution to the History of the Idea of Chemical Affinity," *Epeteris* (Nicosia) 9 (1977-79): 21-51. A shorter French version of the section entitled "Discussion" is found in pp. 1054-61 of Joseph NEEDHAM, "L'alchimie en Chine, pratique et théorie," *Annales. Économie, Sociétes, Civilisations* 30 (1975): 1045-61.

JOHNSON, Obed Simon. 1928. *A Study of Chinese Alchemy*. Shanghai: Commercial Press. Repr. New York: Arno, 1974.

More on background ideas and ancillary disciplines than on alchemy proper. The author quotes the *Baopu zi neipian* and some other sources, but does not seem to have known of the existence of the *Daozang* and its alchemical texts.

KALTENMARK, Max. 1960. "L'alchimie en Chine." *Bulletin de la Société d'Acupuncture* 37.3: 21-29.

Especially interesting for the remarks on the relationship between gold and other sacred objects (*bao*, "treasures") and on the association of cinnabar with light, fire, and the sun. On the latter theme see also the introduction to the author's *Le Lie-sien tchouan (Biographies légendaires des Immortels taoïstes de l'antiquité*) (Peking: Université de Paris, Publications du Centre d'études sinologiques de Pékin, 1953; repr. Paris: Collège de France, 1987).

LI Ch'iao-p'ing. 1948. *The Chemical Arts of Old China*. Easton (Pa.): Journal of Chemical Education. Repr. New York: AMS, 1979.

Translation, with additional material, of the first edition of his *Zhongguo huaxue shi* [History of Chinese Chemistry] (Changsha: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1940). The chapter entitled "Alchemy" (pp. 6-29) refers to some *neidan* texts as being concerned with *waidan*.

MARTIN, William Alexander Parsons. 1878. "Alchemy in China." *The China Review* 7: 242-55. Repr. in his *Hanlin Papers; or Essays on the Intellectual Life of the Chinese*, 1: 221-52 (London: Trübner and Co., and New York: Harper Brothers, 1880). Repr. in his *The Chinese: Their Education, Philosophy and Letters*, 167-93 (London: Trübner, preface dated 1880; New York: Harper, 1881). Repr. as "Alchemy in China, the Source of Chemistry" in his *The Lore of Cathay, or The Intellect of China*, 44-71 (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1901; repr. 1912).

This is probably the earliest attempt at proving that alchemy originated in China. In his discussion the author quotes several texts (including the *Wuzhen pian*) from a little known encyclopedic collection entitled *Baizi jindan* (The Golden Elixir of One Hundred Masters). See also the summary of a lecture entitled "On the Study of Alchemy in China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 9 (1871): xlvi-xlvii.

(*) MARTIN, William Alexander Parsons. "The Study of Alchemy in China." *Rosicrucian*

Brotherhood. [Year and details of publication unavailable.]
An article with an almost identical title is listed at the end of the previous entry.

(*) MAUL, J.P. 1967. "Experiments in Chinese Alchemy." Inaugural Dissertation, M.I.T.

NEEDHAM, Joseph. 1971. *The Refiner's Fire: The Enigma of Alchemy in East and West*. London: Birbeck College. (The Second J.D. Bernal Lecture.)
A summary of section 33(*b*) "Concepts, terminology and definitions" of *SCC*, vol. V:2. A shorter French version had previously appeared as "Artisans et alchimistes en Chine et dans le monde hellénistique," *La Pensée* 152 (1970): 3-25.

NEEDHAM, Joseph. 1974. "The Elixir Concept and Chemical Medicine in East and West." *Journal of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 2: 243-65. Repr. in *Organon* 11 (1975): 167-92. Also published as a separate monograph (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1974).
Essentially a summary of section 33(*i*) "Comparative Macrobiotics" of *SCC*, vol. V:4, and partially the same as Needham 1981. Translated into Italian as "Il concetto di elisir e la medicina su base chimica in Oriente e in Occidente," *Acta Medicae Historiae Patavina* 19 (1972-73): 9-41.

NEEDHAM, Joseph. 1976. "Metals and Alchemists in Ancient China." In J.V.S. Megaw, ed., *To Illustrate the Monuments: Essays Presented to Stuart Pigott*, 283-94. London: Thames and Hudson.
Mostly a reproduction of the pages on zinc from section 33(*c*) "The metallurgical-chemical background; identifications of alchemical processes" in *SCC*, vol. V:2.

NEEDHAM, Joseph. 1978. "Alchemy and Early Chemistry in China." In Torgny T. Segerstedt, ed., *The Frontiers of Human Knowledge: Lectures held at the Quincentenary Celebrations of Uppsala University, 1977*, 171-81. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 38.)
A summary of various sections of *SCC*, vols. V:2-4.

NEEDHAM, Joseph, HO Ping-Yü, and LU Gwei-Djen. 1976. *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. V: *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part 3: *Spagyrical Discovery and Invention: Historical Survey, from Cinnabar Elixirs to Synthetic Insulin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Includes subsection (*e*) "The historical development of alchemy and early chemistry" of section 33, "Alchemy and Chemistry," with chapters on the origins of alchemy, Wei Boyang and the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, Ge Hong and his *Baopu zi neipian*, the "golden age" (400-800 CE) and the "silver age" (800-1300 CE) of Chinese alchemy, the decline of *waidan* in later times, and the coming of modern chemistry. Essay review, Sivin, "Discovery of Spagyrical Invention" (1981).

NEEDHAM, Joseph, HO Ping-Yü, LU Gwei-Djen, and Nathan SIVIN. 1980. *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. V: *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part 4: *Spagyrical Discovery and Invention: Apparatus, Theories and Gifts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Includes the following sub-sections of section 33, "Alchemy and Chemistry": (*f*) "Laboratory apparatus and equipment"; (*g*) "Reactions in aqueous medium"; (*h*) "The theoretical

background of elixir alchemy"; (*i*) "Comparative macrobiotics" (on alchemy in China, the Hellenistic world, the Arabic world, and the Western world).

NEEDHAM, Joseph, and LU Gwei-Djen. 1974. *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. V: *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part 2: *Spagyrical Discovery and Invention: Magisteries of Gold and Immortality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Includes the following sub-sections of section 33, "Alchemy and Chemistry": (*a*) "Introduction: the historical literature"; (*b*) "Concepts, terminology and definitions" (in particular on the terms "aurifiction" and "aurifaction," used throughout volume V.2 but less frequently in the later parts); (*c*) "The metallurgical-chemical background; identifications of alchemical processes"; (*d*) "The physiological background; verifications of the efficacy of the elixirs."

(*) READ, Bernard E. 1931 [or 1941?]. "Chinese Alchemy." *Chinese Medical History Society 5th Anniversary Special Number*.

SCHAFER, Edward H. 1975. "The Stove God and the Alchemists." In Laurence G. Thompson, ed., *Studia Asiatica: Essays in Asian Studies in Felicitation of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Professor Ch'en Shou-yi*, 261-66. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center.

On the Stove God (here identified as a female deity), sometimes known as the divinity reigning over the alchemist's crucible.

SIVIN, Nathan. 1968. "Chinese Alchemy as a Science." *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 13: 117-29. Repr. with minor changes in Frederic Wakeman, Jr., ed., "*Nothing Concealed": Essays in Honor of Liu Yü-yün*, 37-50 (Taipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, 1970).

Defines the grounds on which Chinese alchemy can be studied in the context of the history of science.

SIVIN, Nathan. 1968. *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press. (Harvard Monographs in the History of Science.)

Biography of Sun Simo (seventh century) and annotated translation of the *Taiqing danjing yaojue* (in *Yunji qiqian* [CT 1032], *j*. 71), with an extensive introduction on *waidan* alchemy and its study. Essay review, Eliade, "Alchemy and Science in China" (1970-71). The first chapter has also appeared as "On the Reconstruction of Chinese Alchemy," *Japanese Studies in the History of Science* 6 (1967): 60-86.

SIVIN, Nathan. 1976. "Chinese Alchemy and the Manipulation of Time." *Isis* 67: 513-27. Repr. in Nathan Sivin, ed., *Science and Technology in East Asia: Articles from Isis, 1913-1975*, 109-22 (New York: Science History Publications, 1977).

A shorter version—published four years earlier, but incorporating results of later research—of Sivin, "The Theoretical Background of Elixir Alchemy" (1980).

SIVIN, Nathan. 1980. "The Theoretical Background of Elixir Alchemy." In Joseph Needham, Ho Ping-Yü, Lu Gwei-Djen, and Nathan Sivin, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. V: *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part 4: *Apparatus, Theories and Gifts*, 210-305. Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press.

On the role of time in the alchemical work, and the cosmic correspondences embodied in the apparatus. Defines the elixirs as "time-controlling substances," obtained by an acceleration of the cosmic process in the alchemical laboratory. See also Sivin, "Chinese Alchemy and the Manipulation of Time" (1976).

SIVIN, Nathan. 1981. "Discovery of Spagyrical Invention." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41: 219-35.

Essay review of *SCC*, vol. V:3.

SIVIN, Nathan. 1987. "Chinese Alchemy." In Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 1: 186-90. New York and London: Macmillan.

A synthesis of results of recent research, centered on the aims and means of alchemy, important issues in its history, and its relation with Taoism and science. Suggests that alchemy did not originate in a Taoist milieu, and was first combined with Taoism by Tao Hongjing in ca. 500.

SPOONER, Roy C. 1940. "Chinese Alchemy." *Journal of the West China Border Research Society* 12: 82-102.

Recounts the early history of alchemy, and suggests that alchemy became connected with Taoism after the rise of the Taoist organized movements.

STEIN, O. 1933. "References to Alchemy in Buddhist Scriptures." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 7.1: 262-63. Also published in *Isis* 24 (1935): 119.

A short note on Arthur Waley's identically titled article (1932).

VACCA, G. 1913. "Note cinesi." *Rivista di Studi Orientali* 6.1: 131-42.

The section entitled "Un alchimista del secolo XI" (pp. 141-42) includes the translation of a short passage from the *Mengxi bitan*.

WALEY, Arthur. 1930. "Notes on Chinese Alchemy (Supplementary to Johnson's *A Study of Chinese Alchemy*)." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 6.1: 1-24.

This most important study on Chinese alchemy before the contributions by T.L. Davis and his collaborators. Discusses the question of the origins of alchemy, the first references in historical sources, the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, the *Baopu zi neipian*, and the rise of *neidan*.

WALEY, Arthur. 1932. "References to Alchemy in Buddhist Scriptures." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 6.4: 1102-3.

Translations of sentences and passages from four texts. See also O. Stein's identically titled article (1933).

WILSON, William Jerome. 1940. "Alchemy in China." *Ciba Symposia* 2: 593-624.

A summary of research done to that time, largely based on writings by T.L. Davis and his collaborators. Divided into the following sections: "Chronology," 594; "The Background of Chinese Alchemy," 595-99; "Leading Ideas of Early Chinese Alchemy," 600-4; "Biographies of Early Chinese Alchemists," 605-9; "Later Developments of Chinese Alchemy," 610-17;

"Relation of Chinese Alchemy to that of Other Countries," 618-21; "Bibliography of Chinese Alchemy," 623-24.

WILSON, William Jerome. 1942. "Mystical Developments of Alchemy." *Ciba Symposia* 3: 1153-55. Reproduces passages from p. 617 of Wilson, "Alchemy in China" (1940), followed by notes based on Davis and Chao, "The Secret Papers in the Jade Box of Ch'ing-hua" (1940).

General Studies of Neidan Alchemy

See also no. 49 in the Addenda.

BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN, Farzeen. 1989-90. "Inner Alchemy: Notes on the Origin and Use of the Term *Neidan*." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5: 163-90.

On the date in which the term *neidan* came into use, and its different meanings and equivalents. Abstract in *RBS* 1991/459.

BOEHMER, Thomas. 1977. "Taoist Alchemy: A Sympathetic Approach through Symbols." In Michael Saso and David W. Chappell, eds., *Buddhist and Taoist Studies I*, 55-78. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii. (Asian Studies at Hawaii, 18.)

An introductory survey of some points of *neidan*.

CHANG Chung-yuan. 1956. "An Introduction to Taoist Yoga." *The Review of Religion* 20: 131-48. Repr. in Laurence G. Thompson, ed., *The Chinese Way in Religion*, 63-76 (Encino and Belmont [Ca.]: Dickenson, 1973).

See also the chapter entitled "Processes of Self-realization" in the author's *Creativity and Taoism: A Study of Chinese Philosophy, Art and Poetry*, 123-68 (New York: Julian Press, 1963; repr. 1983; repr. London: Wilwood House, 1975).

DAVIS, Tenney L. 1936. "The Dualistic Cosmogony of Huai-nan-tzu and its Relations to the Background of Chinese and of European Alchemy." *Isis* 25: 327-40.

On the *yin-yang* notions as represented in the *Huainan zi*, their relationship to analogous notions in Arabic and Western alchemy, and their application in the *Zhouyi cantong qi*.

DAVIS, Tenney L. 1938. "Pictorial Representations of Alchemical Theory." *Isis* 28: 73-86.

On the sulphur-mercury and the *yin-yang* doctrines in Western and Chinese alchemy, and their graphical representation. Draws on the *Jindan dayao* (CT 1067) by Chen Zhixu, and on Peng Xiao's commentary to the *Zhouyi cantong qi* (CT 1002).

(*) DAVIS, Tenney L. 1939. "The Identity of Chinese and European Alchemical Theory." *Journal of Unified Science* (*Erkenntnis*) 9: 7-12.

This article is listed in the bibliography of T.L. Davis' works (see the note to Davis and Wu, "Chinese Alchemy" [1930]), and is quoted in of them (Davis and Chao, "Three Alchemical Poems by Chang Po-tuan" [1940]), but seems impossible to locate. The journal in which it was supposedly published was entitled *Annalen der Philosophie und philosophischen Kritik* from 1919 to 1930, *Erkenntnis* from 1930 to 1939, and *Journal of Unified Science* from 1939

onwards.

DESPEUX, Catherine. 1990. *Immortelles de la Chine ancienne: Taoïsme et alchimie féminine*. Puiseaux: Pardès. (Destins de femmes.)

Historical survey of the place and image of women in Taoism, followed by an introduction to inner alchemy for women and a description of its literature and practices. Abstract in *RBS* 1991/477. Translated into Italian by Monica Esposito, *Le immortali della Cina antica. Taoismo e alchimia femminile* (Roma: Astrolabio - Ubaldini Editore, 1991). Partially translated into English in Catherine Despeux and Livia Kohn, *Women in Daoism* (Magdalena (New Mexico): Three Pines Press, 2003).

DESPEUX, Catherine. 1994. *Taoïsme et corps humain: Le Xiuzhentu.* Paris: Guy Trédaniel (Éditions de la Maisnie).

A detailed analysis of the *Xiuzhentu* (Chart for the Cultivation of the Truth) engraved at the Baiyun Guan in Beijing, and other similar representations of the inner body. Includes a chapter on the relation of *neidan* with the Thunder Rituals (*leifa* practiced in some traditions of Song Taoism.

(*) ESKILDSEN, Stephen. 1989. "The Beliefs and Practices of Early Ch'üan-chen Taoism." M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia.

LIU Ts'un-yan. 1970. "Taoist Self-Cultivation in Ming Thought" In Wm. Theodore de Bary and the Conference on Ming Thought, *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, 291-330. New York and London: Columbia University Press.

On several terms used in *neidan* texts and the influence of the doctrines of self-cultivation on Ming thinkers, especially Wang Yangming.

LIU Ts'un-yan. 1984. "The Syncretism of the Three Teachings in Sung-Yüan China." In *New Excursions from the Hall of Harmonious Wind*, 3-95. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Includes materials on *neidan*.

LU Gwei-Djen. 1973. "The Inner Elixir (Nei Tan); Chinese Physiological Alchemy." In Mikulás Teich and Robert Young, eds., *Changing Perspectives in the History of Science: Essays in Honour of Joseph Needham*, 68-84. London: Heinemann.

A preliminary study anticipating some of the findings and views fully expounded in *SCC*, vol. V:5.

NEEDHAM, Joseph, and LU Gwei-Djen. 1983. *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. V: *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part 5: *Spagyrical Discovery and Invention: Physiological Alchemy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Includes the following sub-sections of section 33, "Alchemy and Chemistry": (*j*) "The Outer and the Inner Macrobiogens; the Elixir and the Enchymoma," centered on the history and techniques of *neidan*; (*k*) "The enchymoma in the test-tube; medieval preparations of urinary steroid and protein hormones." Abstract in *RBS* 1985/579.

ROBINET, Isabelle. 1985. "L'unité transcendante des Trois Enseignements selon les taoïstes des Sung et des Yüan." In Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl, and Hans-Herman Schmidt, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65. Geburstag*, 103-26. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann.

ROBINET, Isabelle. 1986. "L'alchimie interne dans le taoïsme." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2: 241-52.
Essay review of Baldrian-Hussein, *Procédés Secrets du Joyau Magique: Traité d'Alchimie Taoïste du XIe siècle* (1984).

ROBINET, Isabelle. 1986. "La notion de *hsing* dans le taoïsme et son rapport avec celle du confucianisme." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106: 183-96.
On *xing* (inner nature) and other fundamental notions of *neidan*—in particular, *ming* (vital force).

ROBINET, Isabelle. 1989. "Original Contributions of *Neidan* to Taoism and Chinese Thought." In Livia Kohn, ed. in cooperation with Yoshinobu Sakade, *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, 297-330. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 61.)
An interpretive essay on some basic traits of inner alchemy. Emphasizes the weight that *neidan* gives to "intellectual speculation" and, in this perspective, describes notions and linguistic expedients used by the authors for expressing their doctrines.

ROBINET, Isabelle. 1989-90. "Recherche sur l'alchimie intérieure (*neidan*): L'école Zhenyuan." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5: 141-62.
On a corpus of texts compiled in the Song period, but including earlier materials, that reflect a synthesis of elements drawn from *neidan*, the *Yijing*, the Shangqing tradition, and Buddhism. Abstract in *RBS* 1991/460.

ROBINET, Isabelle. 1989-90. "The Place and Meaning of the Notion of Taiji in Taoist Sources prior to the Ming Dynasty." *History of Religions* 29: 373-11.
Quotes several *neidan* sources. Abstract in *RBS* 1991/461.

ROBINET, Isabelle. 1991. "Sur les sens des termes *waidan* et *neidan*." *Taoist Resources* 3.1: 3-40. Translated by Fabrizio Pregadio as "On the Meaning of the Terms *Waidan* and *Neidan*," in Isabelle Robinet, *The World Upside Down: Essays on Taoist Internal Alchemy*, 75-101 (Mountain View: Golden Elixir Press, 2011).
Examines the various meanings of the two terms within the context of *neidan* alchemy, where "*waidan*" usually does not refer to practices based on the manipulation of natural substances, but to a stage or an aspect of the *neidan* discipline itself. Abstract in *RBS* 1992/470.

ROBINET, Isabelle. 1992. "Le monde à l'envers dans l'alchimie intérieure taoïste." *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 209: 239-57. Translated by Fabrizio Pregadio as "The World Upside Down in Taoist Internal Alchemy," in Isabelle Robinet, *The World Upside Down: Essays on Taoist Internal Alchemy*, 1-15 (Mountain View: Golden Elixir Press, 2011).
On the principle of" inversion" and the hierogamic exchange of attributes.

ROBINET, Isabelle. 1995. *Introduction à l'alchimie intérieure taoïste: De l'unité et de la multeplicité*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.

SAKADE Yoshinobu. 1991. "Methods and Ideas on Increasing Vitality in Ancient China: The Transition from *Neiguan* to *Neidan* in the Sui and Tang Dynasties." In Yoshio Kawakita, Shizu Sakai, and Yasuo Otsuka, eds., *History of Hygiene: Proceedings of the 12th International Symposium on the Comparative History of Medicine—East and West*, 99-115. Tokyo: Ishiyaku EuroAmerica. Repr. in Yoshinobu Sakade, *Taoism, Medicine, and Qi in China and Japan*, 50-68 (Osaka: Kansai University Press, 2007).

On *neiguan* (insight meditation) and its adoption in *neidan*, where it becomes a method of concentration without visualizations of the inner divinities. The article is a shortened English version of the author's "Zui-Tō jidai ni okeru fukutan to naikan to naitan" [Ingestion of elixirs, insight meditation, and inner alchemy in the Sui and Tang periods], in Sakade Yoshinobu, ed., *Chūgoku kodai yōsei shisō no sōgōteki kenkyū* [Collected studies on the doctrines of the Nourishment of Life in ancient China], 566-99 (Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1988).

SKAR, Lowell. 1990. "The Southern Lineage in Song China." *Taoist Resources* 2.2: 120-25.

Proposal of a doctoral dissertation currently in progress on the genealogy and textual legacy of the Southern Lineage (Nanzong) of Taoism.

(*) WU Sing Chow. 1974. "A Study of the Taoist Internal Elixir: Its Theory and Development." Ph.D. dissertation, St. John's University.

Abstracts in *Dissertation Abstracts International* 35.8 (1975): 5270-A, and in *Early China* 1 (1975): 26-27.

Surveys of Studies

N. Sivin's 1990 article is especially concerned with alchemy. The three other studies listed in this section provide information on Japanese contributions, and examine alchemy within the context of research on Taoism and on the history of Chinese science. For another survey see *SCC*, vol. V:3, pp. 2-8.

SAKADE Yoshinobu. 1989. "Longevity Techniques in Japan: Ancient Sources and Contemporary Studies." In Livia Kohn, ed. in cooperation with Yoshinobu Sakade, *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, 1-40. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 61.)

See pp. 28-30 for studies on alchemy.

SEIDEL, Anna. 1989-90. "Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West 1950-1990." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5: 223-347.

See pp. 262-65 for studies on alchemy.

SIVIN, Nathan. 1988. "Science and Medicine in Imperial China—The State of the Field." *Journal of Asian Studies* 47: 41-90.

See pp. 60-61 and *passim* for studies on alchemy.

SIVIN, Nathan. 1990. "Research on the History of Chinese Alchemy." In Z.R.W.M. von Martels, ed., *Alchemy Revisited: Proceedings of the International Conference on the History of Alchemy at the University of Groningen, 17-19 April 1989*, 3-20. Leiden: E.J. Brill. (Collection de travaux de l'Académie International d'Histoire des Science, 33.)

On the main topics and outcomes of research done until recent times. The survey is centered on *waidan*, but partly covers *neidan* as well.

II. Studies of Alchemical Texts and Authors

Dating of Texts and Surveys of the Alchemical Literature

BOLTZ, Judith M. 1987. *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California. (China Research Monograph, 32.)

See especially the chapters "Literary Anthologies and Dialogic Treatises" (pp. 137-202 *passim*) and "The *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*" (pp. 234-37); and the Index, s.v. *chin-tan*, *huan-tan*, *nei-tan*, *wai-tan*.

HO Peng Yoke. 1979. *On the Dating of Taoist Alchemical Texts*. Brisbane: Griffith University. (Griffith Asian Papers.) Repr. with changes in *Explorations in Daoism: Medicine and Alchemy in Literature*, 9-32 (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

Ways of dating alchemical texts, and examples of their application.

WIEGER, Leon. 1911. *Taoïsme*, vol. I: *Bibliographie générale*. Hien-hien.

A large number of notes in this annotated catalogue of the Taoist Canon, including those on the alchemical texts, are inaccurate.

WYLIE, A. 1867. *Notes on Chinese Literature: With Introductory Remarks on the Progressive Advancement of the Art; and a List of Translations from the Chinese, into Various European Languages*. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, and London: Trübner and Co. Repr. Taipei: Bookcase Shop, 1971.

The section on Taoism (pp. 215-25) includes notes, now of marginal interest, on some alchemical texts.

The *Huangdi jiuding shendan Jing* and Its Commentary (CT 885)

See also no. 46 in the Addenda.

PREGADIO, Fabrizio. 1991. "Le pratiche del *Libro dei Nove Elisir*." *Cina* 23: 15-79.

A summary of the article listed in the next entry, followed by an annotated translation of the *Huangdi jiuding shendan jing*. An English translation of the same text is found in Fabrizio Pregadio *Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Early Medieval China*, 159-87 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

PREGADIO, Fabrizio. 1991. "The *Book of the Nine Elixirs* and Its Tradition." In Yamada Keiji and Tanaka Tan, eds., *Chūgoku kodai kagakushi ron* [Studies on the history of ancient Chinese science], 2: 543-639. Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo.

On the *Huangdi jiuding shendan jing*, its commentary, other texts on the Nine Elixirs, and four other early scriptures. Part Four gives an outline of the alchemical practice described in these sources, with emphasis on the re-enactment of cosmogony. Abstracts in *RBS* 1991/486 and 1992/487.

***Sanshiliu shuifa* (CT 930)**

(See also Butler et al., "The Solubilisation of Cinnabar. Explanation of a Sixth-century Chinese Alchemical Recipe" [1980], and Butler et al., "The Solubilization of Metallic Gold and Silver: Explanations of Two Sixth-Century Chinese Protochemical Recipes" [1987].)

TS'AO T'ien-ch'in, HO Ping-Yü, and Joseph NEEDHAM. 1959. "An Early Mediaeval Chinese Alchemical Text on Aqueous Solutions." *Ambix* 7: 122-58.

Corresponds in part to section 33(*g*) "Reactions in aqueous medium" of *SCC*, vol. V:4, but also includes an annotated translation (with omission of the final section on ritual) of the *Sanshiliu shuifa*. Abstract in *RBS* 1959/821.

Ge Hong (283-343) and His *Baopu zi neipian*

See also Butler et al., "Mosaic Gold in Europe and China" [1983], and Glidewell, "Ancient and Medieval Chinese Protochemistry" [1989].

See also no. 21 in the Addenda.

DAVIS, Tenney L. 1934. "Ko Hung (Pao P'u Tzu), Chinese Alchemist of the Fourth Century." *Journal of Chemical Education* 11: 517-20.

Survey of Western-language studies available to that time, followed by a translation of Ge Hong's biography in the *Liexian quanzhuan*.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and CH'EN Kuo-fu. 1941. "The Inner Chapters of Pao-p'u-tzu." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 74: 297-325.

Translation of *j*. 8 and 11, and summary of the remaining chapters. The introduction includes notes on Ge Hong's line of transmission, and a translation of his biography in the *Jin shu* (History of the Jin Dynasty).

FEIFEL, Eugene. 1941-46. "Pao-p'u tzu nei-p'ien." *Monumenta Serica* 6 (1941): 113-211; 9 (1944): 1-33; 11 (1946): 1-32.

Annotated translation of *j*. 1-4 and 11; philologically better documented than others, but not entirely reliable.

FORKE, Alfred. 1932. "Ko Hung, der Philosoph und Alchimist." *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 41: 115-26.

See also the fuller account in the author's *Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie*, 2: 204-24 (Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Co., 1934).

PREGADIO, Fabrizio. 1987. *Ko Hung: Le Medicine della Grande Purezza. Dal "Pao-p'u tzu nei-p'ien"*. Roma: Edizioni Mediterranee. (Biblioteca Ermetica, 20.)

Translation of *j*. 1, 4, 11, and 16-19, based on the edition by Wang Ming, *Baopu zi neipian jiaoshi* [Critical edition of the *Baopu zi neipian*] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980).

SIVIN, Nathan. 1969. "On the *Pao p'u tzu nei p'ien* and the Life of Ko Hung (283-343)." *Isis* 60: 388-91.

Accepts the evidence provided by William Hung for the dates mentioned in the title.

WARE, James. 1966. *Alchemy, Medicine and Religion in the China of A.D. 320: The Nei P'ien of*

Ko Hung (Pao-p'u tzu). Cambridge (Mass.): M.I.T. Press. Repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1981.

Integral translation, but not always reliable. Also includes a translation of Ge Hong's biography in *j*. 50 of the *Baopu zi waipian*.

WU Lu-ch'iang, and Tenney L. DAVIS. 1935. "An Ancient Chinese Alchemical Classic: Ko Hung on the Gold Medicine and on the Yellow and the White. The Fourth and Sixteenth Chapters of Pao-p'u-tzu." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 70: 221-84.

Translation of *j*. 4 and 16, followed by an abstract and index. The translation is complemented by the following two studies: Tenney L. DAVIS and Lu-ch'iang WU, "Ko Hung on the Gold Medicine" and "Ko Hung on the Yellow and the White," *Journal of Chemical Education* 13 (1936): 103-5 and 215-18.

Tao Hongjing (456-536)

BARNES, William Henry, and H.B. YUEN. 1946. "T'ao, the Recluse (A.D. 452-536). Chinese Alchemist." *Ambix* 2: 138-47.

A sketch based on the biographies in the *Nan shu* (History of the Southern Dynasties) and the *Liang shu* (History of the Liang Dynasty). The article is a translation of Cao Yuanyu, "Tao Hongjing he ta de zhushu" [Tao Hongjing and his works], published in 1935 in a Chinese journal here identified only as *The Chekiang Medical and Pharmaceutical Student's Journal*.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and Lu-ch'iang WU. 1932. "T'ao Hung-ching." *Journal of Chemical Education* 9: 859-62.

An account based on the biography in the *Liexian quanzhuan*.

STRICKMANN, Michel. 1981. "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching." In Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism. Essays in Chinese Religion*, 123-92. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Examines Tao Hongjing's alchemical practices in the context of his life, times, and doctrinal background. Includes discussions of the alchemical texts incorporated in the Shangqing revealed corpus, and of their place within this tradition.

Lü Dongbin

See also no. 20 in the Addenda.

BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN, Farzeen. 1985. "Yüeh-yang and Lü Tung-pin's *Ch'in-yüan ch'un*: A Sung Alchemical Poem." In Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl, and Hans-Herman Schmidt, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien. Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65. Geburstag*, 19-31. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann.

Translation and study of the most famous alchemical poem attributed to Lü Dongbin, the *Qinyuan chun*.

BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN, Farzeen. 1986. "Lü Tung-pin in Northern Sung Literature." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2: 133-69.

On some themes of the earliest tales on Lü Dongbin, their relation to specific social and religious groups, and one of the main places of his worship, Yueyang (Hunan).

COULING, C.E. 1927. "The Patriarch Lü—Reputed Founder of the Chin Tan Chiao." *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 58: 158-71.

Concerned with some hagiographic accounts.

Taixi jing

BALFOUR, Frederic H. 1880. “The ‘Tai-hsi’ King; or the Respiration of the Embryo.” *The China Review* 9: 224-26. Repr. in his *Taoist Texts, Ethical, Political and Speculative*, 63-65 (London: Trübner and Co., and Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1894).

Translation of a short text (CT 14 and 130) not properly *neidan*, but often quoted in the *neidan* literature.

HUANG, Jane, and Michael WURMBRAND. 1987. “T’ai hsi ching chu: The Embryonic Breath Canon with a Commentary by Huan Chen Hsien Sheng.” In their *The Primordial Breath. An Ancient Chinese Way of Prolonging Life Through Breath Control*, 43-47. Torrance (Ca.): Original Books.

Huanzhen Xiansheng, the author of the commentary (CT 130), apparently lived in the Tang dynasty.

The *Yinfu jing* and Its Commentaries

See also nos. 1 and 32 in the Addenda.

[ANONYMOUS]. 1960. *Yin Fu King*. Second edition. Fintry (Surrey): Shrine of Wisdom.

“. . . indebtedness is made to the translations of Balfour and Legge. The commentary is by the Editors of *The Shrine of Wisdom*” (from the preface).

BALFOUR, Frederic H. 1881. “The ‘Yin-fu’ Classic; or, Clue to the Unseen.” *China Review* 10: 44-54. Repr. in his *Taoist Texts, Ethical, Political and Speculative*, 49-62 (London: Trübner and Co., and Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1984).

Translation of the text and a late Ming commentary.

HUEBOTTER, Franz. 1936. *Classic on the Conformity of Yin / Schrift von der Konformität des Yin*. Tsingtao: Druck der Missionsdruckerei.

Includes translations into both English and German. The introduction mentions the existence of another earlier but unidentified German version.

LEGGE, James. 1891. “Yin Fû King, or ‘Classic of the Harmony of the Seen and the Unseen’.” Appendix II of his *The Texts of Taoism*, Part II: 255-64. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. (The Sacred Books of the East, 40.) Several reprints, including London: Oxford University Press, 1927; New York: Julian Press, 1959; and Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966.

Legge’s notes are partly based on those by Li Xiyue (fl. 1844), the main representative of the “Western School” of late *neidan*.

PHILASTRE, M.P.-L.-F. 1880. “Exégèse chinoise.” In *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1: 255-318. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Includes a translation of the *Yinfu jing* and a commentary of the late eighteenth century.

RAND, Cristopher C. 1979. “Li Ch’üan and Chinese Military Thought.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39: 107-37.

Includes remarks on and a translation of this basic text of *neidan*, interpreted here as a treatise on military strategy.

REITER, Florian 1984. “The ‘Scripture of the Hidden Contracts’ (*Yin-fu ching*): A Short Survey on Facts and Findings.” *Nachtrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasien* 136: 75-83.

Wei Boyang, the *Zhouyi cantong qi* and Its Commentaries

See also Ho, "The System of the Book of Changes and Chinese Science" [1972], Davis, "The Dualistic Cosmogony of Huai-nan-tzu and its Relations to the Background of Chinese and of European Alchemy" [1936], and Liu, "Lu Hsi-hsing and his Commentaries on the *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i*" [1968].

See also nos. 3 and 48 in the Addenda.

BOLTON, H. Carrington. 1894. "Chinese Alchemical Literature." *Chemical News* 70: 53-54.
On two early unfruitful attempts to translate the text into English.

(*) DAVIS, Tenney L., and Lu-ch'iang WU. 1931. "The Advice of Wei Po-yang to the Worker in Alchemy." *The Nucleus* 8: 115, 117. Also in *Double Bond* 8 (1935): 13-15.

(*) DAVIS, Tenney L., and Lu-ch'iang WU. 1931. "The Pill of Immortality." *Technology Review* 33: 383-85, 418.
Includes selections from the *Zhouyi cantong qi*.

FUKUI Kōjun. 1974. "A Study of *Chou-i Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i*." *Acta Asiatica* 27: 19-32.
English translation of "*Shūeki sandōkei* kō" [A study of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*], in *Tōhō Gakkai sōritsu nijūgo-shūnen tōhō-gaku ronshū* [Oriental studies in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Tōhō Gakkai], 715-37 (Tokyo: Tōhō Gakkai, 1972). Suggests that although a text called *Zhouyi cantong qi* may have existed in Han times, it was not the same as any of the current versions.

KALTENMARK, Max. 1964-65, 1965-66. Summaries of seminars in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve Section - Sciences Religieuses* 72 (1964-65): 66-67; 73 (1965-66): 66.
Short notes on the *Zhouyi cantong qi*.

PARTINGTON, J.R. 1935. "An Ancient Chinese Treatise on Alchemy." *Nature* 136: 287-88.
Based on Wu and Davis, "An Ancient Chinese Treatise on Alchemy Entitled Ts'an T'ung Ch'i" (1932).

PREGADIO, Fabrizio. 1995. "The Representation of Time in the *Zhouyi cantong qi*." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8: 155-73.
On the cosmological devices used in the *Cantong qi* and their meaning as guidelines to observe (and reproduce in the alchemical work) the presence of the dao in the cosmos. An appendix summarizes the history of the text from the origins until the commentary by Peng Xiao

(947 CE).

WONG Shiu Hon. 1978. "Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i chu." In Etienne Balasz and Yves Hervouet, eds., *A Sung Bibliography (Bibliographie des Sung)*, 369-70. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
Bibliographic notes on the *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* by Zhu Xi (CT 1001).

WU Lu-ch'iang, and Tenney L. DAVIS. 1932. "An Ancient Chinese Treatise on Alchemy Entitled Ts'an T'ung Ch'i." *Isis* 18: 210-89.
Integral but not entirely reliable translation based on the version with Yu Yan's commentary (CT 1005), followed by notes that quote comparable passages from the literature of Western alchemy.

ZHOU Shiyi. 1988. *The Kinship of the Three*. Changsha: Hunan Jiaoyu Chubanshe.
English translation of the *Cantong qi*; includes a glossary and an index.

Zhang Boduan, His *Wuzhen pian* and Other Attributed Works, and Their Commentaries

See also Davis and Chao, "An Alchemical Poem by Kao Hsiang-Hsien" [1939] and Davis and Chao, "Shih Hsing-lin, Disciple of Chang Po-tuan, and Hsieh Tao-kuang, Disciple of Shih Hsing-lin" [1941].

See also nos. 8, 47, and 56 in the Addenda.

CLEARY, Thomas. 1986. *The Inner Teachings of Taoism*. Boston and London: Shambala.
Translation of the *Jindan sibai zi* with Liu Yiming's commentary, and another work by Liu Yiming, the *Xiangyan poyi*. This and other translations by the same author should be used with caution and require access to the original texts.

CLEARY, Thomas. 1987. *Understanding Reality. A Taoist Alchemical Classic*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
Translation of the *Wuzhen pian*, with Liu Yiming's commentary.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and CHAO Yün-ts'ung. 1939. "Chang Po-tuan of T'ien-t'ai, his Wu Chên P'ien, Essay on the Understanding of the Truth: A Contribution to the Study of Chinese Alchemy." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 73: 97-117.
Biographic materials on Zhang Boduan, and translation of the *Wuzhen pian*. A summary of the introductory section has appeared in Tenney L. DAVIS and CHAO Yün-ts'ung, "Chang Po-tuan, Chinese Alchemist of the Eleventh Century," *Journal of Chemical Education* 16 (1939): 53-57.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and CHAO Yün-ts'ung. 1940. "Four Hundred Word Chin Tan of Chang Po-tuan." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 73: 371-76.
Translation of the *Jindan sibai zi*, with notes mainly based on Liu Yiming's commentary.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and CHAO Yün-ts'ung. 1940. "The Secret Papers in the Jade Box of Ch'ing-hua." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 73: 385-89.
Summary of the *Yuqing jinsi Qinghua biwen jinbao nei liandan jue* (CT 240), a text attributed to Zhang Boduan.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and CHAO Yün-ts'ung. 1940. "Three Alchemical Poems by Chang Po-tuan." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 73: 377-79.
Translation of the *Du Zhouyi cantong qi*, the *Zeng Bailong dong Liu Daoren ge*, and the *Shiqiao ge*, all attributed to Zhang Boduan and found in the *Jindan zhengli daquan*, a Ming

collection of *neidan* works.

HUSSEIN, Farzeen [= Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN]. 1976. “Chang Po-tuan.” In Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies*, 1: 26-29. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, 16,1.)
Biographic and bibliographic notes.

KALTENMARK, Max. 1972-73. Summary of seminars in Annuaire de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve Section - Sciences Religieuses 80-81 (1971-72, and 1972-73): 69-74.
Includes (pp. 71-74) notes on the *Wuzhen pian*.

WONG Shiu Hon. 1978. “Tzu-yang chen-jen wu-chen p’ien shih-i.” In Etienne Balasz and Yves Hervouet, eds., *A Sung Bibliography (Bibliographie des Sung)*, 371-72. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
Bibliographic note on the *Ziyang Zhenren wuzhen pian shiyi* (CT 144).

Zhang Sanfeng (Early 14th Century)

SEIDEL, Anna. 1970. "A Taoist Immortal of the Ming Dynasty: Chang San-feng." In Wm. Theodore de Bary and the Conference on Ming Thought, *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, 483-531. New York and London: Columbia University Press.

WONG Shiu Hon. 1979. "The Cult of Chang San-feng." *Journal of Oriental Studies* 17: 10-53.

WONG Shiu Hon. 1982. *Investigations into the Authenticity of the Chang San-feng Ch'üan-chi: The Complete Works of Chang San-feng*. Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press. (Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs, New Series, 2.).

Concludes that the collection is spurious, and is in great part due to Wang Xiling (1664-1724) and Li Xiyue.

Lin Zhaoen (1517-98)

BERLING, Judith A. 1980. *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*. New York: Columbia University Press.

> On the life and teachings of Lin Zhaoen, who expounded a system ultimately based on Neo-Confucianism but closely related to *neidan*. Some of the main points of this study are summarized in the author's "Paths of Convergence: Interactions of Inner Alchemy, Taoism and Neo-Confucianism," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 6 (1979): 123-47.

LIU Ts'un-yan. 1967. "Lin Chao-ên (1517-1598): The Master of the Three Teachings." *T'oung Pao* 53: 252-78. Repr. in his *Selected Papers from the Hall of the Harmonious Wind*, 149-74 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976).

> Abstract in *RBS* 1966-67/1019.

Lu Xixing (16th Century)

(See also Wile, *Art of the Bedchamber: The Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics, Including Women's Solo Meditation Texts* [1992].)

LIU Ts'un-yan. 1965. "Lu Hsi-hsing: A Confucian Scholar, Taoist Priest and Buddhist Devotee of the Sixteenth Century." *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 18-19: 115-42. Repr. in his *Selected Papers from the Hall of the Harmonious Wind*, 175-202 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976).

A biographical study of the patriarch of the "Eastern School" of Ming and Qing *neidan*, to whom Liu Ts'un-yan ascribes the authorship of the novel *Fengshen yanyi*. Abstract in *RBS* 1965/741. See also the author's "Lu Hsi-hsing," in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, 1: 991-94 (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976).

LIU Ts'un-yan. 1968. "Lu Hsi-hsing and his Commentaries on the *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i*." *Qinghua xuebao (The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies)*, n.s., 7: 71-98. Repr. in his *Selected Papers from the Hall of the Harmonious Wind*, 203-31 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976).

On the *Cantong qi ceshu*. Both the *Cantong qi* and the commentary are interpreted in this study as dealing with the philosophical aspects of *shuangxiu* ("dual cultivation") that the author interprets as sexual practices. Abstract in *RBS* 1968-70/578.

Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* and *Huiming jing

CLEARY, Thomas. 1992. *The Secret of the Golden Flower: The Classic Chinese Book of Life. The Authoritative New Translation*. San Francisco: Harper.

Translation of the *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*.

GRISON, Pierre. 1970. *Le Traité de la Fleur d'Or du Suprême Un*. Paris: Villain et Belhomme - Éditions traditionnelles. Repr. 1986.

A French translation of Wilhelm and Jung 1957, with a new introduction and added footnotes, but not including C.G. Jung's commentary. See also the author's "The Golden Flower and its Fruit," *Studies in Comparative Religion* 2.3 (1968): 141-46.

LO Liang Chü. 1926. "Liu Hua Yang, Hui Ming King. Das Buch von Bewusstein und Leben." *Chinesische Blätter für Wissenschaft und Kunst* 1.3: 104-14.

"The translation was made at the suggestion of Richard Wilhelm and was revised by him, so that in its present form it closely approximates the style of the translation of the *Secret of the Golden Flower*" (from Salome Wilhelm's 1957 foreword to Wilhelm and Jung, *Die Geheimnis der goldenen Blute. Ein chinesisches Lebensbuch* [1957]). Translated into French by André Préau, "Lieou Hua Yang. Le Livre de la Conscience et de la Vie," *Le Voile d'Isis. Études traditionnelles*, Mai 1934: 178-91.

MIYUKI Mokusen. 1967. *The "Secret of the Golden Flower." Studies and Translation*. Inaugural Dissertation, Jung Institute (Zürich).

WILHELM, Richard, and Carl Gustav JUNG. 1957. *Die Geheimnis der goldenen Blute: Ein chinesisches Lebensbuch*. New edition. Zürich: Rascher Verlag.

The first edition was published in 1929 (Zürich and Stuttgart: Rascher Verlag). The 1957 edition includes both a translation of the *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* and a partial translation of the *Huiming jing*. This edition was translated into English by Cary F. Baynes as *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life* (New, revised and augmented edition; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962; New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962). The commentary by C.G. Jung is also translated by R.F.C. Hull as "Commentary on 'The Secret of the Golden Flower'" in *Alchemical Studies*, 1-56 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967 [Collected Works of C.G. Jung, vol. XIII; Bollingen Series, 20]). For a French translation of Wilhelm's work see Grison, *Le Traité de la Fleur d'Or du Suprême Un* (1970). On his translation and Jung's commentary see also André Préau, "Un texte taoïste: Le Secret de la Fleur d'Or du Suprême Un," *Le voile d'Isis* 36 (1931): 84-115, and "Le Taoïsme sans Tao. Une interprétation psychologique du Dr. C.G. Jung," *id.*: 204-33. Both articles were reprinted in Préau's *La Fleur d'Or et le taoïsme sans Tao* (Paris: Bibliothèque Chacornac,

1931).

Liu Yiming (18th Century)

(See also Davis and Chao, "Four Hundred Word Chin Tan of Chang Po-tuan" [1940] and Cleary, *The Inner Teachings of Taoism* [1986].)

See also nos. 30 and 71 in the Addenda.

CLEARY, Thomas. 1986. *The Taoist I Ching*. Boston and London: Shambala.
Translation of Liu Yiming's commentary to the *Yijing*.

CLEARY, Thomas. 1988. *Awakening to the Tao*. Boston and Shaftesbury: Shambala.
Translation of the *Wudao lu*, a collection of jottings some of which directly concern *neidan*.

Zhao Bichen (1860-?)

DESPEUX, Catherine. 1979. *Zhao Bichen: Traité d'Alchimie et de Physiologie taoïste (Weisheng Shenglixue Mingzhi)*. Paris: Les Deux Océans.

Annotated translation of the *Weisheng shenglixue mingzhi*, with an introduction on the schools of late *neidan* and the system described in the text.

LU K'uan-Yü (Charles LUK). 1970. *Taoist Yoga: Alchemy and Immortality. A translation, with introduction and notes, of The Secrets of Cultivating Essential Nature and Eternal Life (Hsing Ming Fa Chüeh Ming Chih) by the Taoist Master Chao Pi Ch'en, born 1860*. London: Rider and Co. Repr. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1977.

Translation of the *Xingming fajue mingzhi*.

Other *Waidan* Texts and Authors

See also Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies* [1968] and Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching" [1981].

See also no. 40 in the Addenda.

FUNG Chia-Loh, and H. Bruce COLLIER. 1937. "A Sung Dynasty Alchemical Treatise: 'Outline of Alchemical Prescriptions' by Tu-ku T'ao." *Journal of the West China Border Research Society* 9: 199-209.

Reliable translation of *j*. 1 of the *Danfang jianyuan* (CT 925).

HO Peng Yoke. 1980. *Tuku Tao's Tan-fang chien-yüan: A Tenth-century Alchemical Sourcebook*. Hong-Kong: Center of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.

In Chinese, with an introduction in English. Includes a critical edition of two versions of the *Danfang jianyuan* (CT 925). Chinese title: *Daozang—Danfang jianyuan*. The *Danfang jianyuan* is translated in the author's *Explorations in Daoism: Medicine and Alchemy in Literature*, 33-83 (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

HO Peng Yoke, and Beda LIM. 1972. "Ts'ui Fang, a Forgotten 11th-Century Chinese Alchemist." *Japanese Studies in the History of Science* 11: 103-12.

On Cui Fang and his works, now known only through quotations in the *Gengdao ji* (CT 953) and the *Bencao gangmu*.

HO Peng Yoke, Beda LIM, and Francis MORSINGH. 1973. "Elixir Plants: The Ch'un-yang Lü Chen-jen yao shih chih (Pharmaceutical Manual of the Adept Lü Ch'un-yang)." In Shigeru Nakayama and Nathan Sivin, eds., *Chinese Science. Explorations of an Ancient Tradition*, 153-202. Cambridge (Mass.) and London: The MIT Press.

Translation in poetical form of the 59 stanzas of the *Chunyang Lü Zhenren yaoshi zhi* (CT 903).

KALTENMARK, Max. 1974-75. Summary of seminars in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve Section - Sciences Religieuses* 83: 63-66.

Includes (pp. 64-65) notes on the *Zhang Zhenren jinshi lingsha lun* (CT 887).

MASPERO, Henri. 1937. "Un text chinois inconnu sur le pays de Ta-ts'in (Orient romain)." *Mémoires de l'Institut Français* 17: 377-87. Repr. as "Un texte taoïste sur l'Orient romain" in his *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine*, 3: *Études Historiques*, 93-108

(Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1950).

Centered on *j*. 3 of the *Taiqing jinye shendan jing* (CT 880), which is devoted to a description of the natural resources occurring in the Western regions. Note that Rolf A. STEIN, in the addenda to the Japanese translation of his "Remarques sur les mouvements du Taoïsme politico-religieux au IIe siècle ap. J.-Ch.," *Dōkyō Kenkyū / Études taoïstes* 2 (1967): ii-xi, has suggested that *j*. 3 dates from the middle or even the beginning of the sixth century rather than the middle or the latter half of the seventh century, on the basis of references to the name Fulin earlier than those known to H. Maspero. (Stein's original French article was published in *T'oung Pao* 50 [1963]: 1-78.)

PREGADIO, Fabrizio. 1986. "Un lessico alchemico cinese: Nota sullo *Shih yao erh ya* di Mei Piao." *Cina* 20: 7-38.

On the editions, authenticity, and sources of the *Shiyao erya* (CT 901), with concluding notes on the alchemical nomenclature.

SCHAFER, Edward H. 1978. "The Transcendent Vitamin: Efflorescence of Lang-kan." *Chinese Science* 3: 27-38.

The last part of this study is concerned with the *Taiwei lingshu ziwen langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing* (CT 255).

SPOONER, Roy C., and C.H. WANG. 1948. "The Divine Nine Turn Tan Sha Method, a Chinese Alchemical Recipe." *Isis* 38: 235-42.

Integral, but not reliable translation of the *Taishang weiling shenhua jiuzhuan dansha fa* (CT 892).

Other *Neidan* Texts and Authors

See also nos. 5, 11, 62, and 65-69 in the Addenda.

BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN, Farzeen. 1984. *Procédés Secrets du Joyau Magique: Traité d'Alchimie Taoïste du XIe siècle*. Paris: Les Deux Océans.

Annotated translation of the *Bichuan Zhengyang Zhenren lingbao bifa* (CT 1191), with an introduction on *neidan* alchemy, and a detailed study of the system exposed in the text. Summary in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve Section - Sciences Religieuses* 88 (1979-80): 507-8. Essay review, Robinet, "L'alchimie interne dans le taoïsme" (1986).

BALFOUR, Frederic H. 1880. "Three Brief Essays." *The China Review* 9: 380-82.

Includes (pp. 380-81) a translation of the *Gaoshang Yuhuang xinyin jing* (CT 13). The translation is also found in the author's *Taoist Texts, Ethical, Political and Speculative*, 66-67 (London: Trübner and Co., and Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1894).

(*) BENNES, Marie-Florence. 1992. "*Livre Merveilleux du Sceau du Coeur sur les Neuf Principes par le Très Haut*: Mémoire sur Zhang Guo." Thèse, Université Paris VII.

On the *Taishang jiuyao xinyin miaojing* (CT 225).

CLEARY, Thomas. 1989. *The Book of Balance and Harmony*. San Francisco: North Point Press.

Translation of the *Zhonghe ji* (CT 249). Abstract in *RBS* 1990/555.

CLEARY, Thomas. 1991. *Energy, Vitality, Spirit: A Taoist Sourcebook*. Boston and London: Shambala.

The selections concern various subjects, but—as is usual with this translator—often do not include any clear indications of the sources.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and CHAO Yün-ts'ung. 1939. "An Alchemical Poem by Kao Hsiang-Hsien." *Isis* 30: 236-40.

Translation of the *Zhixuan pian* attributed to Gao Xiangxianfrom one of Dai Qizong's editions of the *Wuzhen pian* (CT 141).

DAVIS, Tenney L., and CHAO Yün-ts'ung. 1940. "A Fifteenth Century Chinese Encyclopedia of Alchemy." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 73: 391-99.

Table of contents and index of the authors of the texts included in the *Jindan zhengli daquan*.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and CHAO Yün-ts'ung. 1940. "Shih Hsing-lin, Disciple of Chang Po-tuan, and Hsieh Tao-kuang, Disciple of Shih Hsing-lin." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 73: 381-83.

Biographical notes and selected translations from the *Huanyuan pian* by Shi Xinglin and the *Huandan fuming pian* by Xue Daoguang (whose name is incorrectly romanized in the title of this article). Both works are found in the *Jindan zhengli daquan*.

DAVIS, Tenney L., and CH'EN Kuo-fu. 1942. "Shang-yang Tzu, Taoist Writer and Commentator on Alchemy." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 7: 126-29.

Biographical materials on Chen Zhixu (i.e., Shangyang zi, fl. 1330) and the masters of his lineage, mainly drawn from local monographs quoted in the *Gujin tushu jicheng*.

DESPEUX, Catherine. 1981. *Le chemin de l'éveil: Illustré par le dressage du buffle dans le Bouddhisme Chan, le dressage du cheval dans le Taoïsme, le dressage de l'éléphant dans le Bouddhisme tibétain*. Paris: L'Asiathèque.

Includes (pp. 71-104) an annotated translation of *j*. 1 of the *Shangcheng xiuzhen sanyao* (CT 267).

DESPEUX, Catherine. 1988. *La Moelle du Phénix Rouge: Santé et longue vie dans la Chine du XVIe siècle*. Paris: Guy Trédaniel (Éditions de la Maisnie).

A study and annotated translation of Zhou Lüjing's *Chifeng sui*, a section of which concerns *neidan* practices. Abstract in *RBS* 1989/565.

(*) ESPOSITO, Monica. 1993. "La Porte du Dragon: L'Ecole Longmen du mont Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le *Daozang Xubian* (*Suite au Canon Taoïste*)." Thèse de Doctorat, Université Paris VII.

Concerned with several texts belonging to the Longmen lineage of late *neidan* alchemy. See also the author's "Présentation d'une partie des textes du *Daozang Xubian*." Mémoire de D.E.A., Université de Paris VII (1988); and "Il *Daozang xubian*, raccolta di testi alchemici della scuola Longmen," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale* 52 (1992): 429-49.

HOMANN, Rolf. 1976. *Pai Wen P'ien or the Hundred Questions: A Dialogue Between Two Taoists on the Macrocosmic and Microcosmic System of Correspondences*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. (Nisaba Religious Texts Translation Series, 4.)

Translation of the *Baiwen pian*, included in *j*. 5 of the *Daoshu* (CT 1017).

KALTENMARK, Max. 1974-75. Summary of seminars in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve Section - Sciences Religieuses* 83: 63-66.

Includes (pp. 63-64) short notes on j. 1 of the *Xiuzhen shishu* (DZ 263), and on j. 63 of the *Yunji qiqian*.

LIU Ts'un-yan. 1984. "Wu Shou-yang: The Return to the Pure Essence." In his *New Excursions from the Hall of Harmonious Wind*, 184-208. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

A study of the life and doctrines of Wu Shouyang, the founder of the Wu-Liu lineage of Qing *neidan*, mainly based on his *Tianxian zhengli*.

WILE, Douglas. 1992. *Art of the Bedchamber: The Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics, Including Women's Solo Meditation Texts*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Includes full or partial translations of *neidan* texts, such as Sun Ruzhong's *Jindan zhenzhuan* (partial), Lu Xixing's *Jindan jiuzheng pian* (partial), and four works on inner alchemy for women (among them, the *Niwan Li zushi nüzong shuangxiu baofa*, and the *Xi Wangmu nüxiu zhengtu shize*, both found in the *Daozang xubian*). The introduction and the translations rest on an altogether poor understanding of the *neidan* tradition, seen as focused on the cultivation of sexual energy. Abstract in *RBS* 1992/471.

WONG, Eva. 1992. *Cultivating Stillness*: *A Taoist Manual for Transforming Body and Mind*. Boston and London: Shambala.

A translation of the *Taishang qingjing jing* and a late commentary. The introduction includes several erroneous or misleading remarks. This and other translations by the same author should be used with caution and require access to the original texts.

III. Studies of Specific Features

III. STUDIES OF SPECIFIC FEATURES

Elixir Ingredients

HO Peng Yoke. 1968. "Alchemy on Stones and Minerals in Chinese Pharmacopoeias." *The Chung Chi Journal (Chongji xuebao)* 7: 155-70.
Notes on several substances grouped according to the Periodic Table of the elements.

SCHAFER, Edward H. 1955. "Notes on Mica in Medieval China." *T'oung Pao* 43: 265-86. Abstract in *RBS* 1955/460.
This and the two studies listed below are based on a broad variety of sources: historical, literary, medical, and alchemical.

SCHAFER, Edward H. 1955. "Orpiment and Realgar in Chinese Technology and Tradition." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75: 73-89.
Abstract in *RBS* 1955/461.

SCHAFER, Edward H. 1956. "The Early History of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China." *T'oung Pao* 44: 413-38.
Abstract in *RBS* 1956/637.

Chemical, Pharmacological and Medical Features

BUTLER, Anthony R., Christopher GLIDEWELL, and Joseph NEEDHAM. 1980. "The Solubilisation of Cinnabar: Explanation of a Sixth-century Chinese Alchemical Recipe." *Journal of Chemical Research* (S)47, (M)0817-0832.

An experimental analysis of the first of the two methods concerning cinnabar given in the *Sanshiliu shuifa* (CT 930).

BUTLER, Anthony R., Christopher GLIDEWELL, Sheila M. GLIDEWELL, Sharee E. PRITCHARD, and Joseph NEEDHAM. 1987. "The Solubilization of Metallic Gold and Silver: Explanations of Two Sixth-Century Chinese Protochemical Recipes." *Polyedron* 6: 483-88.

Experimental analyses of the two methods given in the same text as above.

BUTLER, Anthony R., Christopher GLIDEWELL, Joseph NEEDHAM, and Sharee E. PRITCHARD. 1983. "Mosaic Gold in Europe and China." *Chemistry in Britain*, February 1983, 132-35.

An experimental analysis of the recipe attributed to Qinglin zi in *j*. 16 of *Baopu zi neipian*. See also the related article by Anthony R. BUTLER, Christopher GLIDEWELL, and Sheila M. GLIDEWELL, "Thermodynamics of the Oxidation of Elements by Aluminium Sulphate," *Thermochimica Acta* 106 (1986): 355-60.

GLIDEWELL, Christopher. 1989. "Ancient and Medieval Chinese Protochemistry." *Journal of Chemical Education* 66: 631-33.

A summary of the studies published by the author, A.R. Butler, and other collaborators in 1980, 1983, and 1987 (all listed in the present section). The final paragraphs concern the "Child's-play method for making alchemical Gold" in *j*. 16 of *Baopu zi neipian*.

HUANG Tzu-ching. 1957. "Über die alte chinesische Alchemie und Chemie." *Wissenschaftliche Annalen* 6: 721-34.

Mainly concerned with the chemical achievements of pre-Tang alchemy.

LU Gwei-Djen, Joseph NEEDHAM, and Dorothy NEEDHAM. 1972. "The Coming of Ardent Water." *Ambix* 19: 70-112.

Includes most of the identically titled chapter of section 33(*f*) "Laboratory apparatus and equipment" of *SCC*, vol. V:4. Concerned with the techniques of alcohol distillation in China and the West, examined mainly on the basis of pharmacological and other texts. See also the shorter and unannotated French version in pp. 1045-53 of Joseph NEEDHAM, "L'alchimie en Chine, pratique et théorie," *Annales. Économie, Sociétes, Civilisations* 30 (1975): 1045-61.

Laboratory Equipment

BARNES, William Henry. 1934, 1936. "'The Apparatus, Preparations and Methods of Ancient Chinese Alchemists', by Y.Y. Ts'ao: A Review"; and "Diagrams of Chinese Alchemical Apparatus." *Journal of Chemical Education* 11 (1934): 655-58; 13 (1936): 453-57.

A two-part review of the study by Cao Yuanyu, "Zhongguo gudai jindan jia de shebei ji fangfa" [Equipment and methods of the ancient Chinese alchemists], *Kexue* 17.1 (1933): 31-54 (repr. in Wang Jin et al., *Zhongguo gudai jinshu huaxue ji jindan shu* [Metallurgical chemistry and alchemy in ancient China], 67-87 [Shanghai: Zhongguo Kexue Tushu Yiqi Gongsu, 1955].) Abstract of the original Chinese article (the earliest modern Chinese study of Chinese alchemy) in *Isis* 23 (1935): 570-71.

HO Ping-Yü, and Joseph NEEDHAM. 1959. "The Laboratory Equipment of the Early Mediaeval Chinese Alchemists." *Ambix* 7: 57-115.

A preliminary version of section 33(*f*) "Laboratory apparatus and equipment" of *SCC*, vol. V:4. Abstract in *RBS* 1959/820.

Alchemy and Literature

See also nos. 35 and 71 in the Addenda.

DESPEUX, Catherine. 1985. “Les lectures alchimiques du *Hsi-yu-chi*.” In Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl, and Hans-Herman Schmidt, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien. Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65. Geburstag*, 61-75. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann.

On Wu Cheng’en’s *Xiyou ji* (Journey to the West) and the interpretations of its narrative as an allegory of the *neidan* principles and practice. Note that this novel is not the same as the identically titled work translated by Arthur Waley as *The Travels of an Alchemist* (London: Headley, 1931), which relates the journey of the Quanzhen patriarch, Qiu Changchun, but does not directly concern alchemy. Waley himself, however, partially translated Wu Cheng’en’s *Xiyou ji* in his *Monkey: A Sixteenth-century Chinese Novel by Wu Ch’eng-en* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1942).

HO Peng Yoke, GOH Thean Chye, and Beda LIM. 1972. *Lu Yu, the Poet-Alchemist*. Canberra: The Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies. (Occasional Papers, 13.)

Translation and study of about twenty poems reflecting Lu You’s (1125-1209) active interest in alchemy.

HO Peng Yoke, GOH Thean Chye, and David PARKER. 1974. “Po Chü-i’s Poems on Immortality.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 34: 163-86.

Translation, with short commentaries, of a series of poems by Bai Juyi (772-846) rich in alchemical allusions.

HO Peng Yoke, and WU Wang-luen. 1974. “Physical Immortality in the Early Nineteenth-Century Novel Ching-hua-yüan.” *Oriens Extremus* 21: 33-51.

On the *Jinghua yuan*, which mentions some alchemical substances and texts.

SCHAFER, Edward H. 1963. “Mineral Imagery in the Paradise Poems of Kuan-hsiu.” *Asia Major*, n.s., 10: 73-102.

Translation and amplifications on the *topoi* of four poems by the Buddhist poet-painter Guanxiu (ninth/tenth century). Abstract in *RBS* 1963/625.

SCHAFER, Edward H. 1981. “Wu Yün’s ‘Cantos on Pacing the Void’.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41: 377-415.

A translation and study of the ten *Buxu ci* by Wu Yun (?-778).

Chinese and Other Alchemical Traditions

BARNES, William Henry. 1935. "Chinese Influence on Western Alchemy." *Nature* 135: 824-25.
Abstract in *Isis* 25 (1936): 261.

CHANG Tzu-kung. 1972. "Taoist Thought and the Development of Science: A Missing Chapter in the History of Science and Culture-Relations." *May and Baker Pharmaceutical Bulletin*, 21.1: 7-11; 21.2: 20-24.
On the Chinese contribution to the transmission of alchemy in different cultures. As remarked in a short prefatory note by J. Needham, this article—written more than twenty-five years before it was published—anticipates some of the views expounded in *SCC*.

DAVIS, Tenney L. 1936. "The Problem of the Origins of Alchemy." *The Scientific Monthly* 43: 551-58.
DAVIS, Tenney L. 1943. "The Chinese Beginnings of Alchemy." *Endeavour* 2: 154-60.
Suggests that alchemy originated from early chemistry, and not vice versa; therefore, since the Greek mss. are concerned with chemistry rather than alchemy, the earliest properly alchemical doctrines and texts come from China.

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